34:3

SOCIAL PROGRESS

An Interfaith Declaration on World Peace
"Can These Bones Live?"
Program for Plenty

NOVEMBER 1943

Table of Contents

Articles **Page**

The Church and World Order, *by Gordon A. Sisco* 1
Emerging Outlines of Postwar Organization, *by Vera Micheles Dean* .. 4
An Interfaith Declaration on World Peace 7
"Can These Bones Live?" *by William H. Molbon* 10
The Common Good, *by William H. Baldwin* 12
Program for Plenty, *by Edward B. Benjamin* 13
War a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency, *by Alice Scott Nutt* 18

Editorial Comment

For Times Like These 16

Sanctuary

Christian World Order Sunday, 1943 22

World Order Round Table

Church Women Enlist for World Order, *by Elinor K. Purvis* 24

Departments

The Workshop 26
About Books 29
Current Films 32
Study and Action 33

Social Progress

Published monthly, except July and August, by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at 1009 Sloan Street, Crawfordsville, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editors: Cameron P. Hall, Elsie G. Rodgers.

Editorial and Executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

Subscriptions, 50 cents a year; three years for $1.25. Single copy, 10 cents.

Copyright 1943 by the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Articles appearing herein furnish information on current issues, represent the personal opinion of the authors, and are not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies on behalf of the Department of Social Education and Action or the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

VOL. XXXIV NOVEMBER, 1943 No. 3

The Church and World Order

By Gordon A. Sisco *

IT IS now possible to look forward to a victory over the Axis nations. In the winning of this conflict the world will have been saved from one of the worst threats to liberty and freedom it has ever had to meet. It is not too soon to turn our minds with earnestness of purpose to the problems of peaceful reconstruction that we trust will culminate in a world-wide political order.

This age of ours has lifted itself in technical knowledge and application to a high level of achievement. It has, among other things, accomplished the transmission of the human word in a second round the globe and the conquest of the air by the airplane. This conquest of the air has created a new geography for the world. It has forced us to think in terms of a globe rather than of a map that can be hung on a wall or folded and put into our pockets. It has wiped out the hemispheres and schemes of hemisphere defense and has substituted in their place the great land masses of Europe, Asia, and North America that radiate from the North Pole. All this contrives to break down our insularities and barriers. It sweeps our world up into one great unity; but our political institutions lag behind.

In a former day when space was still a barrier, Rudyard Kipling described the plying of merchant vessels between the western and the eastern hemispheres as a flying shuttle weaving the warp and woof together in a world-wide industrial brotherhood. The brotherhood side of the picture is rather fanciful. Internally, within each state, we recognize and practice the principle that individual and corporate self-seeking must be controlled in the general interest by a national government that has power to lay down rules and enforce them. Externally, or internationally, we have failed to agree thus far that national power

* Secretary, General Council, The United Church of Canada.

and privilege carry a corresponding responsibility.

Our prewar existing world organization was based on a denial of that principle. It was based on the principle of complete national sovereignty, which asserts that each nation has full authority in the management of its economic and financial affairs. Thus, if a nation desires to raise its tariffs or exclude all foreigners because of their color or revalue its currency or build up its armaments, it may do so, no matter what the results of these actions may be elsewhere in the world. Dividing the surface of the earth among some 60 sovereign nations and allowing each to go its own way is contrary to the spirit of our epoch. It is one of the causes that helped to bring Italy, Germany, and Japan under the leadership of violent and ruthless dictators. It will continue to be a cause of war during the years ahead unless we can soon agree to abridge national sovereignty in favor of a broader control over matters that are of vital common concern.

One might assume that a generation that is passing through a devastating war would readily agree to this proposition. This would be a rash assumption. Nations that achieve victory in a fierce struggle frequently become more intensely nationalistic by that very achievement, believing that by their own power or in concert with other nations of power they can by means of force protect themselves against all future eventualities. Indeed, it is already being argued that Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, whose interests throughout the world are more common than conflicting, should form themselves after the war into a grand alliance backed by military, naval, and air power to which other smaller nations should be glad to attach themselves for the security it will give them.

It will be seen at once that this view conceives of foreign policy as a system of checks and balances of power, or areas of commitment and special spheres of influence. It is power politics on a grand scale. It fails to take account of the fact that the foreign policy of any one of these great powers will be determined in a purely competitive world by its internal economic interests.

There is no strong reason for believing that Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, once the pressure of a common danger is removed, will find that their economic policies will easily merge. The United States, to take one example, will come out of this war with an increased industrial potential. If she has surplus goods to dispose of, that fact will influence her view of foreign affairs and may well place her in competition with the other members of the grand alliance. If the United States can find a continuously expanding market at home, that fact will encourage the advo-

cates of high tariff, and, if such a policy is adopted, it will force other nations to look to their own tariff fences.

Any alliance based on common interests and fears will last just so long as it serves the purpose of its members. Since it was created by will it can be ended by will. Its members are still sovereign nations. It is they who make the laws and always from the standpoint of self-interest. It is wishful thinking to assume that such an alliance of three strongly armed powers can keep the world at peace. Such a system might succeed for a few years, but in the long run it will precipitate another global conflict.

For the first time in history in the midst of a world war the Christian Church as an ecumenical body, through leaders and chosen representatives, has been able to project an outline of world order for the guidance of Christians in all countries where freedom of inquiry still prevails. While there has been a degree of difference between the pronouncements of Church commissions sitting in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, and elsewhere, which is determined somewhat by national backgrounds, a common agreement has now been reached in favor of a world-wide political order with the establishment of those instruments best suited to serve the purpose of such an order. This goal cannot be reached at a single step, but all intermediate steps should move toward that goal and not away from it.

It is essential that the Allied nations should reach agreements and work together after hostilities cease, but unless their partnership is more than an alliance it will last no longer than such alliances in the past. The world order that we must plan for now must bring all nations, great and small, victor and vanquished, under a general binding obligation, inescapable and permanent, which all nations are prepared to enforce. Then within each nation there must be built up systems of democratic control that will make impossible the rise of dictators or the manipulation of those who seek power in the economic field by monopolistic controls.

We cannot attain to this goal by self-generated enthusiasms that are divorced from deep spiritual convictions. Unless, therefore, we believe that the universe has flashed forth its meaning to men and to nations in the face of Christ Jesus, we shall grow weary and come to a halt. Indeed, our projection of a new world order will not of itself move men. It is only when men as individuals and as citizens of a nation come to see that God is one who has stooped to serve the lowliest of his creatures by submitting to the shame and death of a cross to rise again victorious, that they move from theory to the realm of dynamic action.

Emerging Outlines of Postwar Organization

By Vera Micheles Dean *

SOBERED by the grim realization that Italy's surrender has thrown the British, Americans, and Canadians into a life and death struggle with German forces now consciously fighting for defense of their own country, Allied statesmen are beginning to acquaint their peoples with the outlines of the world order they expect to see emerge from the conflict. The degree of unanimity already achieved in this country, on the surface at least, was recently revealed. Following the statement of the Republican Postwar Advisory Council on September 7, expressing support for postwar participation by the United States in an international organization, Secretary of State Hull in his broadcast of September 12 urged nonpartisan discussion of American collaboration with other free nations after the war. Nor did the almost simultaneous suggestion by Mr. Churchill and Governor Dewey that a first step toward world order is the continuance of collaboration between Britain and the United States—Mr. Dewey did not hesitate to use the word "alliance"—evoke the hostile reaction that might have been anticipated at an earlier stage of the war.

* Director of Research, Foreign Policy Association, Inc., New York, N. Y. Reprinted, with permission, from the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, September 17, 1943.

World Organization the Ultimate Goal

Yet many people in this country, and many more in Asia, Latin America, and conquered Europe, still fear that an Anglo-American understanding, whether formalized into an alliance or not, and whether or not expanded to include Russia and China, may turn out to be a substitute for international organization, or even an attempt to circumvent its formation. This apprehension cannot be lightly brushed aside. But before jumping to the conclusion, as some have done, that an understanding between Britain and the United States would merely underwrite the *status quo* of 1939, and thus "freeze" British interests in Asia, notably India, it may be useful to consider two points:

In the first place, what Mr. Churchill proposed in his Harvard address was the maintenance, in the postwar period, of the machinery of collaboration developed by Britain and the United States during the war—machinery in many phases of which Russia, China, and others of the United Nations have participated. Whatever views one may hold regarding the merits or demerits of an Anglo-American alliance, it would seem suicidal—especially in the light of our experience after

World War I—to dismantle the complex arrangements that have enabled the Allies to pool men, munitions, raw materials, food, shipping, the talents of their military and political leaders, and the skills and loyalties of their soldiers and technicians, instead of adapting these arrangements so far as possible to peacetime needs. The interests of the United Nations, to borrow an earlier Churchillian phrase, have become pretty thoroughly "mixed up" during the war. To "unmix" them the moment the war is over would be willfully to dissipate the only positive advantage that civilized peoples may be said to have gained from this grueling ordeal. For surely acquisition of strategic bases or new sources of raw materials, or even thorough destruction of enemy wealth and power, will prove fruitless unless the United Nations acquire, during the war, a new "know-how" in the bafflingly difficult art of getting along with each other, and retain it after the cessation of hostilities.

The only point that might arouse concern is Mr. Churchill's statement at Harvard that the machinery of Anglo-American collaboration should be kept "in running order after the war . . . not only till we have set up some world arrangement to keep the peace, but until we know that it is an arrangement which will really give us that protection we must have from danger and aggression." However, those who fear that an Anglo-American understanding might thus be perpetuated for an indefinite period, possibly to the detriment of a world organization, should find in Mr. Churchill's statement an incentive to create a world organization as soon as possible, and make it sufficiently effective, so that the need for the protective scaffolding of more limited engagements between nations may soon disappear.

Interim Measures

The second point to stress is that Mr. Churchill's Harvard address and his Government's foreign policy indicate that he regards any bilateral arrangement merely as a stepping-stone toward an international organization stronger and more effective than the League of Nations. This is shown by the Anglo-Soviet treaty of alliance of May 26, 1942, in Article III of which the two countries declare their desire "to unite with other like-minded states in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the postwar world," but, "pending the adoption of such proposals," pledge themselves, after the termination of hostilities, to "take all the measures in their power to render impossible a repetition of aggression and violation of the peace by Germany or any of the states associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe." What this treaty makes clear is that countries that

have suffered from the aggression of Germany (or Japan) and, at the same time, have now accumulated sufficient force to resist it will insist upon retaining the use of force after the war. This force may either take the form of an international organization or, should that prove unattainable in the immediate future, the form of bilateral or other arrangements of self-protection regarded as necessary interim measures.

To assume, as some observers have done, that there is one way, and one way only, to achieve international collaboration—and that is by the immeditate formation of an organization of fifty or more nations—may prove as dogmatic as the opposite assumption that no world organization can ever be created. The growth of political institutions is extremely slow when measured by the life span of any one generation. If—and admittedly this is a most important "if"—agreements among the United Nations that today command the force to carry out their decisions can pave the way to international organization, this approach should not be rejected out of hand merely because it is not perfect. Nor is there anything sinister in the belief, known to be held by President Roosevelt among others, that post-war reconstruction may be more effectively advanced by gradual fusion of the interests of the United Nations on such matters as food, relief, and so on, rather than by full-dress conferences such as that of Paris in 1919, where the possibility of workable, if modest, adjustments was sacrificed to all-embracing plans that remained unimplemented.

Conflicts between nations, as we should certainly have learned from the experience of two wars, are due not to any one single cause, such as the iniquity of munition-makers, or the existence of cartels, but to a multiplicity of crisscrossing emotions and aspirations, some good, some evil, that cannot be satisfied or alleviated merely by signing a peace treaty or establishing a world organization. The very fact, however, that Allied statesmen now incline more and more to shaping peace in the midst of war by a series of concrete decisions in specific cases makes it more imperative than ever that these piecemeal adjustments should be inspired by a long-range vision representing the interests, not only of the great powers, but of all human beings who struggle, suffer, and die in this war, often in complete ignorance of what the statesmen who seek to shape their destiny have in mind.

NOTE: *This is the first of a series of four articles on the outlook for the future in Europe by Vera Micheles Dean to appear in forthcoming issues of* SOCIAL PROGRESS. *The succeeding articles are titled: "No Return to Normalcy in Europe," "Human Welfare—First Postwar Concern," "What Alternative to Balance of Power?"*

An Interfaith Declaration on World Peace

This Declaration is a statement of agreement on the moral bases of peace, signed by the representative leadership of the three great religious bodies in the United States: Protestant, Catholic, Jewish.

The need for such a united voice has been apparent and urgent because of the multiplicity of pronouncements by religious bodies. This Declaration brings together the substance of earlier affirmations by the three faiths in seven areas of agreement. It should, therefore, go far:

To Demonstrate *to the nation that within each faith there are citizens who are eager and determined in their demand for the organization of a righteous peace.*

To Overcome *the confusion in the public mind and in the minds of those responsible for public policy that has resulted from the issuance of numerous peace statements.*

To Affirm, *with the strength of unity, the principles that religious people insist must be taken into consideration by their elected representatives in matters affecting peace.*

The Preambles

Protestant

In a world troubled to despair by recurring war the Protestant Churches have been seeking to show how moral and religious convictions should guide the relations of nations. Their conclusions are in many important respects similar to those of men of other faiths. In this we rejoice, for world order cannot be achieved without the co-operation of all men of good will. We appeal to our constituency to give heed to the following proposals enunciated by Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, which must find expression in national policies. Beyond these proposals we hold that the ultimate foundations of peace require spiritual regeneration as emphasized in the Christian Gospel.

Catholic

We present for the consideration of all men of good will the following postulates of a just peace as embodying the principles of the moral law and their prime applications to world problems of our day. To our mind they express the minimum requirements of a peace which Christians can endorse as fair to all men. They are the foundation on which Catholics in a free world can work from deep motives of Christian justice and charity for the building of a better social order.

Jewish

The American Synagogue commends to the attention of its own constituency and to all men of faith the following principles as a guide to thought

and action in dealing with the grave world problems of our time. These seven principles, while they do not exhaust the teachings of the Jewish tradition on issues of social relationships, have their sanction in Judaism both Biblical and rabbinic. Judaism's highest goal has ever been "to amend the world through the kingdom of God." The Synagogue therefore calls upon its adherents, both as citizens and as Jews, to seek after the implementation of these principles. They will thereby act in faithful conformity with the moral values of the Jewish religion, and at the same time serve the best interests of country and of mankind.

The Joint Declaration

1. *The moral law must govern world order.* The organization of a just peace depends upon practical recognition of the fact that not only individuals but nations, states, and international society are subject to the sovereignty of God and to the moral law which comes from God.
2. *The rights of the individual must be assured.* The dignity of the human person as the image of God must be set forth in all its essential implications in an international declaration of rights, and be vindicated by the positive action of national governments and international organization. States as well as individuals must repudiate racial, religious, or other discrimination in violation of those rights.
3. *The rights of oppressed, weak, or colonial peoples must be protected.* The rights of all peoples, large and small, subject to the good of the organized world community, must be safeguarded within the framework of collective security. The progress of undeveloped, colonial, or oppressed peoples toward political responsibility must be the object of international concern.
4. *The rights of minorities must be secured.* National governments and international organization must respect and guarantee the rights of ethnic, religious, and cultural minorities to economic livelihood, to equal opportunity for educational and cultural development, and to political equality.
5. *International institutions to maintain peace with justice must be organized.* An enduring peace requires the organization of international institutions which will (*a*) develop a body of international law; (*b*) guarantee the faithful fulfillment of international obligations, and revise them when necessary; (*c*) assure collective security by drastic limitation and continuing control of armaments, compulsory arbitration and adjudication of controversies, and the use when necessary of adequate sanctions to enforce the law.

6. *International economic co-operation must be developed.* International economic collaboration to assist all states to provide an adequate standard of living for their citizens must replace the present economic monopoly and exploitation of natural resources by privileged groups and states.
7. *A just social order within each state must be achieved.* Since the harmony and well-being of the world community are intimately bound up with the internal equilibrium and social order of the individual states, steps must be taken to provide for the security of the family, the collaboration of all groups and classes in the interest of the common good, a standard of living adequate for self-development and family life, decent conditions of work, and participation by labor in decisions affecting its welfare.

Signatories to the Declaration

Protestant

Among the Protestant signers are the following Presbyterians:

Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin, New York City, Moderator, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.
Rev. Rex S. Clements, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, President, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.
Dr. John Foster Dulles, New York City, Chairman, Federal Council's Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace.
Rev. William P. Merrill, New York City, President, Church Peace Union.
Rev. Henry P. Van Dusen, New York City, President, American Association of Theological Schools.

Jewish

Among the Jewish signers are:

Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York City, President, Synagogue Council of America.
Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York City, President, Jewish Institute of Religion.
Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman, St. Louis, Missouri, Chairman, Commission on Justice and Peace of Central Conference of American Rabbis.
Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Cleveland, Ohio.
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio.

Catholic

Among the Catholic signers are:

Most Rev. Edward Mooney, Archbishop of Detroit, Chairman, Administrative Board, National Catholic Welfare Conference.
Most Rev. Samuel Alphonsus Stritch, Archbishop of Chicago.
Most Rev. Karl J. Alter, Bishop of Toledo, Chairman, Social Action, N. C. W. C.
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francis J. Haas, Washington, D. C., Catholic University.
Rev. John La Farge, S. J., New York City, Executive Editor, *America.*

"Can These Bones Live?"

*By William H. Molbon**

IN CONSIDERING the spiritual and moral situation of our world and the conditions that will probably prevail at the close of this world war, I dare to call the attention of all Christians to the familiar vision of the Prophet Ezekiel. The prophet pictured his country as a valley filled with bones, and "lo, they were very dry." The question is asked: "Can these bones live?" In other words can the framework of the whole house of Israel, dried and lifeless because of a lack of nourishment, live?

The experience of this prophet and of the house of Israel has become the experience of the Church and of the men of God in our day. As we contemplate the world of tomorrow, we see the strains that it must bear because of the bloodshed today. We see the hosts of homeless returning to former places of abode to find them wiped away. An army of veterans returns with its band of sick, blind, crippled, and shell-shocked, to communities changed and filled with strangers. A generation of youth, taught to kill and hate, returns to take up life again, and finds those who served as janitors before the war have been promoted to work on the production lines and machines. Workmen, likewise, have learned that their salvation is in organized labor.

The Christian Church is visible to all these groups. It is the one institution in the community that has not changed. It is the pile of bones, very dry and lifeless. And the question is asked, "Can these bones live amid the changed and changing conditions?"

There is a general feeling among many of our household of faith that the Church might become very dry and lifeless but that it will not die. Yet there are dying branches all over our country. The men of God are mostly silent and fearful, and in many Churches the "saints" are so engrossed in themselves that their eyes and ears are closed to the needs of humanity.

The men whom Christ came to save are in need of fellowship as much or more today than ever before. They have not found and are not finding this fellowship in the Church, for in the Church race, color, social standing seem to determine individual worth. The Church in its dry and lifeless state does not feel or know the deep yearning for fellowship in the hearts of men. It has failed to take upon itself the study and practice that Alexander Pope declared most im-

* Pastor, St. John's Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan.

portant: "the greatest study of mankind is man."

The Church has allowed labor unions to take up this greatest challenge of the day—fellowship among men. Within a labor union men not only say "brother" and "sister," but they can live it out. They can live, work, plan, and eat side by side. In our Churches we must be white Christians, red, yellow, or black Christians. A man who professes to be a Christian stands in a Governmental chamber and declares he will argue in support of a discriminating measure "until hell freezes over"; yet on the other hand a labor leader who does not profess to be a Christian takes a stand with his union and pledges to give full rights and privileges to worthy men without regard to their race or color, even though it cost his position or his life. In the face of challenging conditions like these, can our dry, lifeless, and sick institutions live?

As a result of the recent race riot in Detroit, several solutions to the problem of race were suggested. Many of these are old and have been practiced in sections of our country for years; all of them are opposed to the deep yearning for fellowship. The proposals are: toleration—try not to hate Negroes; segregation—follow an organized plan in this practice; discrimination—keep Negroes in a special place; exportation—remove the Negro to Africa; isolation—confine the Negro to one state in the Union; castration—make it impossible for the race to increase. And over against this we have yet to hear a strong call to fellowship from the parched and dried framework of the Church.

This yearning of the Negro for fellowship is not a desire to be tolerated but to be understood, not to be pitied but to be inspired, not to be dressed in worn-out garments and shoes but granted the privilege to rise like respectable and respected men and women.

Whether we believe it or not, so far as the Negro is concerned "the war is on" for better opportunities and a greater share of the blessings that this country now offers the occupied countries of Europe. Negro soldiers, doctors, chaplains are making this sacrifice, not only to grant oppressed peoples the "Four Freedoms," but to have and exercise these freedoms themselves. Let us pray God that the Church will be strengthened to see the need and the benefits of a broader fellowship and become equal to the great tasks in our day.

It is our earnest hope that the victory we seek will come with the help of the Church. Nevertheless, the Church can do little in its present parched condition. "Son of man," whoever you are, say to the Church: "O ye dry bones, hear the word of Jehovah . . . I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live . . . and . . . know that I am Jehovah."

The Common Good

By William H. Baldwin *

DETROIT, Harlem, Mobile, and Beaumont are but thin strands in comparison with Burma and Malaya in the crazyquilt of the white man's pretensions to innate superiority in a world predominantly colored and now awakened and on the move. But our local "incidents" have a high visibility which cannot be concealed from the world at large, or even from us, by any techniques of camouflage or artificial blackout.

Among the many thousands of lives—both white and colored—already sacrificed to this modern Moloch and still to be immolated before we can win back lost ground in the Far East, the total of our riot victims is but a handful, but that total is directly and exclusively our fault.

Coming, as it has, long after the essential issues of this war have been clarified and after the bitter British experience in the Orient exposed the danger, this fault of ours is all the more shocking in itself and in its potentials to the cause of the United Nations: the more so because Bataan demonstrated to the world that free whites and free colored peoples can and will fight and endure heroically together when confidence and respect are mutual and the loyalty is to a common aim.

This may sound like a heavy introduction to a discussion of recent developments on the home front, but the relation between explosions here and their repercussions among the peoples whose active good will we are seeking to enlist in the war effort is very real. That is affirmed by those who are monitoring the propaganda broadcasts of the Nazis and Japanese.

When such explosions as these we have experienced this summer in Detroit and New York occur, the first essential is obviously to contain the outbreak in as small an area and in as short a period as possible. That is a police job. In Detroit it was handled so ineptly and so adversely to the public interest that the United States Army had to be called in to restore order, and resentment against police partisanship and brutality has been seared into the souls of the 160,000 Negroes in that community.

In the subsequent Harlem situation a resentment pent up from previous police performance was the major provocation, and the fact that a Negro soldier figured in the initial incident added the equally explosive

(Continued on page 21)

* President of the National Urban League. An editorial from the October, 1943, issue of *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*, published by the Urban League. Reprinted with permission.

Program for Plenty

*By Edward B. Benjamin **

DOES the overnight "miracle" of war production, with full employment and fantastic output, spell anything for our country after the war?

Just this: that it may be possible to organize our nation for permanent peacetime prosperity and plenty.

For the moment let us overlook the handicap of a huge national debt at the war's end and come to grips with more crucial questions:

Can our nation consume what it would produce in an all-out production program for peacetime plenty? Can our people afford to pay for the superabundance of commodities resulting from full-time employment on civilian needs?

A few figures will throw surprising light on this. In 1929, with our national income at $85,000,000,000 we had 3,000,000 unemployed—about 6 per cent of our workers. In 1943, with our people almost fully employed, the national income is estimated at $135,000,000,000—an increase of about 62 per cent. Although it seems strange, the average of commodity prices is supposed to have advanced only 5 per cent between 1929 and 1942. Thus the producing and consuming power of the American people increased enormously in little more than a decade.

Specific figures show that the real income of our wage earners—what pay envelopes will buy—had gradually advanced about 50 per cent in the same period. The real income of the farmer was up even more. Wage-hour and farm-aid legislation, trade-union gains, social and technological progress, had all contributed to these benefits for the mass of our people. Ought we, then, to worry too much about our ability to consume? Do we not have a green light to go ahead, not only to produce for our needs when the time comes, but to produce ourselves into a state of full employment and lasting plenty, with some comforts for all in addition to the simple necessities? The answer is obvious. Certainly we ought to try.[1]

Bear in mind that our war production program has been carried out by industry and agriculture in private hands, with some Governmental financial aid and planning. And, whereas our war production program has called for limitation of civilian consumer demands in many directions, the program for plenty would work exactly the other way—a comforting thought.

My proposal is simply one for con-

* Ranking Southern industrialist and corporation official. President, E. V. Benjamin Company, Inc., and President, Bay Chemical Company.

[1] It should be borne in mind that our national income always tends to equal our national output of commodities and services.

tinued evolution in a direction in which we were already headed before Pearl Harbor. War production has taught us what an enormous economic potential resides in the U.S.A., if we but harness it in full for the satisfaction of our peacetime needs.

The Sights of Our Postwar Aiming

There are signs that considerable planning is already under way toward this end. The President and other Government officials have more than hinted at it. Industrial leaders are sensing the idea as exemplified by the Committee for Economic Development, which, on the initiative of Secretary of Commerce Jesse H. Jones, has set out to stimulate advance planning of programs for the swift conversion of war industry to civilian production in order to maintain maximum employment. But what seems still to be needed above all else is a comprehensive survey of our nation's economic requirements for proper peacetime living.

Consider the problem on this basis: Our War Production Board has estimated our wartime needs. In the years following the war, why not do the same for proper peacetime requirements? How many shoes, shirts, and topcoats, how many prefabricated cottage-with-garage units, bath tubs, refrigerators, and other "hard goods" should be produced—and consumed—to assure everyone in all the land possession of the basic essentials of health and of comfort?

We would need a detailed, comprehensive, postwar consumer demand survey, made by income groups and covering both abnormal and normal demands and based upon our anticipated national income of $135,000,000,000 in 1943. If we could ascertain the requirements of our population for commodities and services in normal times based on such an all-time high, conceivably we might employ our population in the satisfaction of these wants.

Obviously an increase in national income level from $90,000,000,000 in 1941 to the estimated $135,000,000,000 in 1943 does not mean a proportionate increase in demand for some commodities and services. The point is to find out in advance the direction that demand would take and to prepare ahead of time, properly and systematically, to meet it, thus setting up both the goals of production and of employment.

In recent years the polling technique has proved excellent in gauging opinions and preferences. This method, plus assistance to consumers in developing budgets, could be brought to bear in working up our picture of postwar consumption based upon sustained high national income.

Implementing These Aims

Such then are the sights for our postwar aiming, the goal being presented in terms of shelter and sanita-

tion, food and clothing, personal hygiene and education, and all the other manifold commodities and services entering into reasonably secure daily living that embodies freedom from want and freedom from fear. Assuredly, if we can survey our needs for war production, plus wartime living, we should be capable of estimating our requirements for proper peacetime living standards.

Once we ascertain our essential production goals in our program for postwar plenty, we can begin to figure on augmenting the framework for their attainment. On the basis of available Government statistics on the earning power, economic skills, and aptitudes of our people, we should be able to estimate how much of our program for plenty is attainable at the start, and the directions in which to extend plant investment. Over a definite period of time, with Government aid in financing and planning, and with economic activity in private, competitive hands as today, should we not continue to accomplish wonders?

It would probably mark a forward step, therefore, in our economic development to maintain in peacetime a production board somewhat analagous in its scope and function to the present War Production Board. Even if the normal work of this suggested agency were confined merely to the collection and rapid dissemination of figures on the production and purveying of commodities and services, this would be extremely helpful. At present similar statistical data are a year or two old as they emanate from the Bureau of Census, the Bureau of Mines, and other agencies. They represent ancient history as far as producers are concerned.

From "Expendables" to Permanent Investment

This brings us squarely to our financial situation—to the present and prospective national debt, and our ability to finance any postwar economic program.

Happily, unlike that for the war effort, the financing involved in this peacetime program should prove self-liquidating. Most war production plants are built for temporary operation; their product is "expendable." It is shot away, or destroyed, or relegated to the warehouse or the junk heap on war's termination. But any expansion of agriculture and industry to satisfy peacetime needs creates facilities which are—or can and should be—permanently required. Their products can be and ordinarily are marketed at prices covering all costs of production, including that of financing. Instead of flinging our money into the maw of destruction, we would get it back with interest to be used later.

Moreover, the amount of financing required for a program of peacetime plenty in this country should not be anything like the financial outlay for

(Continued on page 28)

For Tim

Will American Opinion Support World Organization?

Events of recent months give encouraging signs that American public opinion is moving forward into greater unity for world co-operation. Leaders of the Republican Party at the Mackinac Isle Conference agreed on "responsible participation by the United States in postwar co-operative organization among sovereign nations." When the role of the Republican Party is recalled subsequent to World War I, the significance of this statement is striking. Again, the House of Representatives adopted the Fulbright Resolution, which states that "the Congress hereby expresses itself as favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world and as favoring participation by the United States therein." The vote was overwhelming—360 to 29 or 12 to 1 in its favor—striking evidence of its bipartisan support.

All this and more besides is all to the good, but the hard fact is that our Constitution invests the Senate with ultimate power in treaty-making. The pressing question, therefore, is: Where does the Senate stand regarding co-operation by the United States on behalf of world organization designed to promote world peace? As we go to press, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, whose chairman is Senator Tom Connally, has released a report of its subcommittee, which was empowered to draw up such a statement. This proposal for a Senate Resolution states: "That the United States, acting through its Constitutional processes, join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world."

The military situation continues to thrust upon the United Nations the need for practical decisions bearing on the postwar world. All the more important is it, therefore, that the Senate, before which all final treaties must pass, indicate to our associates in war what they may expect of the United States as their associate in peace.

In this connection it is appropriate to recall that General Assembly last May recommended "the study and support of Congressional or Senate action along the lines contemplated by the so-called Ball Resolution whereby those branches of our Government will make clear that they will join in the establishment and support of international organizations appropriate to maintain world order and suppress future attempts at military aggression."

ike These

Political Action for World Order

Two measures before Congress are related to matters dealt with affirmatively in the Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action of the last General Assembly. One of these concerns the repeal of the present discriminatory legislation in respect to immigration and citizenship. General Assembly expressed "its support of such legislation as will repeal the present Oriental Exclusion Act and which will permit the entrance of Oriental immigrants to the United States on the quota basis and the citizenship of Orientals, with full civil and property rights on the same terms as others."

One bill of interest in this connection is H. R. 2011, now before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, whose chairman is Representative Samuel Dickstein. This bill provides that "the right of a person to become a naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of race, color, creed, or national origin." Legislation of this character is in line with the need for present and future racial relationships.

The House of Representatives by a vote of 265 to 210 last spring passed the Anti-Poll-Tax Bill (H. R. 7). The bill is now in the Senate Judiciary Committee, and the danger is that a vote on it may be thwarted by delay, filibuster, or other means. General Assembly repeatedly has stood out against political liabilities as represented in legislation such as the anti-poll-tax bill.

International Round Table

Readers' attention is drawn particularly to the monthly feature, "World Order Round Table," which began in the September issue of Social Progress. Each month it will give, not opinions or facts—these will be found in the articles—but, rather, suggestions for programs within the local Church and for the local Church in community and interdenominational cooperation. The program suggestions this month are of particular interest to the women of the Church, a rapidly growing group of socially active Christians. Moreover, Church women have greatly increased their potential power for social good by uniting across interdenominational lines for the promotion of world order as evidenced by the World Community Day observance described in "World Order Round Table," in this issue.

War a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency

By Alice Scott Nutt *

ALTHOUGH no statistics of delinquency in the United States on a nationwide basis are available for the period since our entry into the war, it is estimated that under ordinary circumstances approximately 200,000 children come to the attention of juvenile courts each year for reasons of delinquency.

Preliminary reports of the number of delinquency cases dealt with show an increase of 6 per cent in 1941 as compared with 1940 for the total group of reporting courts. Still more significant is the fact that more than three fifths of the individual courts disposing of 100 or more cases reported an increase in the number of delinquency cases. For some courts this increase was a substantial one.

Factors in Delinquency

In some communities the increase in delinquency needs to be related to an increase in total population. Nevertheless, sufficient evidence exists to indicate that many of these are actual rather than merely apparent increases in the amount of juvenile delinquency. This evidence is found in descriptive reports and statements of conditions existing in certain communities received from other sources. Some of the reports relate to overt acts by young people, such as the practicing of prostitution by young girls; some reports refer to behavior that is frequently a forerunner of actual delinquency—the drifting of young girls from rural areas to urban areas and camp areas to seek employment in cheap beer parlors and taverns and the rejection of parental control and supervision by adolescent boys who for the first time in their lives are earning wages and high wages at that. Other reports deal with community conditions that are generally regarded as fertile soil for the development of juvenile delinquency. These include overcrowded housing, lack of recreational and leisure-time facilities, overcrowded schools with inadequate equipment, and the absence of social and legal measures for the protection of children and young people from unwholesome community influences.

The phenomenon of juvenile delinquency in wartime calls for insight and understanding on the part of all who deal with children and adolescents. Circumstances and situations that threaten or disturb the security of the child's personal

* Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Excerpted with permission, from an article in the Bulletin of the Child Welfare League of America, Inc., November, 1942.

or family life or that surround him with unwholesome influences have long been regarded as related factors, if not causative factors, in juvenile delinquency. To a considerable degree, and especially during depression years, these factors have been looked upon as products of poverty and unemployment. At first thought, therefore, it would seem that many of the factors that we have associated with economic conditions would vanish with the advent of war activities that have resulted in better economic status for the families of many children; further consideration reveals that some of them persist, although for reasons other than economic ones. A home may be broken up, not because the father has deserted the family as a result of his inability to find employment or of domestic dissension, but because he is serving in the armed forces or has gone elsewhere to work on a defense project. Children may lack the supervision of the mother, not because she has to help to support the family, but because of the demand for skilled women to release men for military service. Communities that have had a mushroom growth may have inadequate facilities for housing, health, recreation, education, and social service because the establishment of such facilities has not been able to keep pace with the growth of population and the consequent demand on community resources.

Psychological Aspects of Delinquency

Especially is there need for understanding of the psychological aspects of war that affect the emotional stability of children and adolescents. The quickened tempo of life and new stresses and strains are added to what we regard as problems more or less normal to childhood development and adolescence. Children too young to understand what is happening may nevertheless suffer as a result of the fear and tension that they sense in the adults around them. Children already unstable may have their maladjustments accentuated by the increased tensions around them and by the disorganizations and dislocations of family and community life. Older children, spurred by the urge to action that comes with the emotional charges of war and danger, may attempt to express their patriotism in unwise or socially unacceptable ways, as, for example, the boy who runs away from home to join the army, the boy who steals metal to contribute to the salvage drive, or the girl whose admiration for soldiers leads her into sex delinquencies.

Children need and want security, but they also need and want experience. The latter is especially true of adolescents. For years because of the depression we have held youths back from maturity; now because of the war we ask them to accept responsibilities. The fact that

we are now speeding up the maturation process does not relieve individual youths of physical, psychological, and emotional changes and stresses that are a part of growing up. Some will meet no particular difficulties in this acceleration of the growth process. Others, because their uneven development causes them to act at times like adults and at other times like children, will need help in growing up wisely. But above and beyond all these pressures upon youth are the great movements taking place in the world today that will eventually remold our economic and social structure. Young people are sensitive to these movements and react to them even though they may not be entirely conscious of them or articulate about them.

Temporary Measures Inadequate

Juvenile delinquency in wartime does not present a totally new problem. Rather it presents an old problem in which some of the points of emphasis are different. This being true the action taken to deal with delinquency in wartime involves much more than emergency and temporary measures.

The approach must be made through basic services to children and their families and through the control of community conditions. Services that build up the economic and social security of the family and its members must be supplied if they are lacking and strengthened if they are weak: financial assistance and case work service to meet breakdowns in family life; community facilities to supplement home care when mothers are employed; effective health service and medical care to safeguard both mental and physical health; opportunities for education; safeguards with respect to child labor and youth employment; and opportunities for wholesome companionship and leisure-time influences.

Parents, teachers, social workers, and all adults who are in close touch with children and young people have specific responsibilities with regard to them. From these adults, children are learning how to live. From them and particularly from their actions they are forming concepts of ethical and moral values. Particularly important then is the attitude that these adults show toward situations created by the war—the foregoing of luxuries, the acceptance of rationing, and the paying of heavy taxes. More important still is the way in which they meet real hardship and tragedy in the midst of war and show ability to find beauty and joy in simple things. From adults, children and adolescents also need reassurance and guidance. They need to learn to have faith in the future and in democracy, to draw upon the resources of religion that is not afraid, but gives life ultimate meaning, confidence, and hope.

most important matter before the people of the United States today, and by its use the challenge and the opportunity for action should be brought home to every individual.

Church women can make their contribution to this task in the following ways:

I. By intelligent study of the Christian approach to world order, that convictions that can be translated into action may result.

Use the World Community Day Program as a starting point for a continuing study during the year. If there is no Council of Church Women in a given community, the World Day of Prayer Committee might be used to sponsor the meeting. Or, if that is not possible, the presidents of the women's organizations should take the initiative in planning for that day.

II. By action that will bring the influence of Christian citizenship to bear upon public opinion and upon government.

1. Talk to people about your conviction concerning the importance of winning the peace and urge study of the subject.

2. Formulate a statement of the unique responsibility of the Christian Church for world order. Send it to your Senators and Congressmen, and give it to the press.

3. Keep the men and women of your Church who are in the armed forces in touch with this effort to win the peace. Send them current material and invite their comments. These people will have great influence in the postwar world.

4. Inform yourself about current proposals introduced into Congress for the participation of the United States in plans for world order, and advise your Senators and Congressmen of your opinion on such measures.

5. Join in community efforts to work for a just and durable peace, thus bringing the influence of the Church to bear upon such efforts.

III. By Christian citizenship, which expresses through personal and group attitudes the principles involved in building world order.

1. Cultivate an understanding of other peoples and their contribution to a world society and condemn unchristian attitudes toward national and racial groups in your own community or the nation.

2. Seek ways of making the Four Freedoms operative in your community and in all parts of the United States.

3. Support more than ever the missionary enterprise at home and abroad, in order that the Christian world fellowship may be so strengthened that it will become the spiritual foundation for a world society of nations.

4. Show a personal willingness to sacrifice comforts and even some necessities now and after hostilities cease, in order to win the war and the peace, and to bring relief to the destitute and suffering people of war-torn lands. Such sacrifices are a part of the price of peace.

"We, as Christians, have the greatest opportunity and responsibility that we have ever faced. We can help to build a new world in the spirit of Christ's teachings, if only we have the will and the courage to do so. This will require the help of all of us, men and women alike. We must make our voices heard in favor of the kind of peace and world order which is in accord with Christian morality."

The Workshop

Christian World Order Missions. Under united Protestant auspices some one hundred one-day Missions on Christian World Order are being held in as many communities. The following are the cities to be visited between November 1-20. Presbyterians will want to participate in these conferences and co-operate in their promotion. Local Churches may consult their local ministerial associations or councils of Churches for the exact date:

Alabama: Birmingham, Mobile.
Arizona: Phoenix.
Arkansas: Little Rock.
California: San Diego, Los Angeles, East Bay Area, Sacramento.
Colorado: Denver.
Connecticut: Bridgeport, Hartford, Waterbury.
Delaware: Wilmington.
District of Columbia: Washington.
Georgia: Macon.
Idaho: Pocatello.
Illinois: Quincy, Decatur, Rock Island.
Indiana: Indianapolis, Lafayette, Evansville.
Iowa: Des Moines, Iowa City.
Kansas: Topeka, Wichita.
Kentucky: Louisville.
Louisiana: Shreveport.
Maine: Portland, Bangor.
Maryland: Baltimore, Hagerstown.
Massachusetts: Springfield, Boston, Lowell.
Michigan: Saginaw, Lansing, Pontiac, Ann Arbor.
Minnesota: Minneapolis.
Missouri: Cape Giraudeau, St. Louis, Springfield, Chillicothe, Kansas City.
New Jersey: Newark.
New York: Rochester, Ithaca, Syracuse, Albany, Buffalo.
North Dakota: Fargo.
Ohio: Cleveland, Canton, Akron, Columbus, Lima, Cincinnati, Dayton, Youngstown.
Oregon: Eugene, Corvallis, Salem, Portland.
Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, Reading, Wilkes Barre, Johnstown, Greensburgh, Erie.
Rhode Island: Providence.
South Carolina: Columbia.
South Dakota: Sioux Falls, Aberdeen.
Tennessee: Memphis, Nashville, Knoxville.
Utah: Ogden, Salt Lake City.
Virginia: Richmond, Lynchburg, Roanoke.
Washington: Seattle and others.
West Virginia: Huntington, Charleston, Fairmont.
Wisconsin: Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Eau Claire.

November Emphasis in Local Churches. "If something doesn't happen locally, it doesn't happen at all" is a truth that applies very specifically to Social Education and Action. A theme or a campaign becomes alive only when it is undertaken by an individual or a group.

Evidence is at hand that "Christian Enlistment for World Order" is being made a special emphasis in the Churches in a variety of ways. The following are illustrations:

A series of Sunday afternoon meetings on this theme will be held during November in one Church. A different visiting speaker each week, both laymen and ministers, will stress some phase of the subject, the minister of the Church himself presiding to assure continuity. After each talk there will be full opportunity for question and discussion.

A series of sermons for the month under

the general title "God's Plan for the Post-war World" has been announced by a minister.

A special forum on the evening of November 7 has been planned by one Church as part of its observance of "Christian World Order Sunday."

A dramatic service, "A Crowd of Witnesses," will be presented in a New York Church on November 7. This service appeared in SOCIAL PROGRESS for October 1942. (See "Dramatic Services," next column.)

The Women's Program. The women of the Churches have been working generally along three lines: First, to participate in the interdenominational meetings of Church women on November 11, with the theme "The Price of Enduring Peace." Secondly, the women have worked on behalf of an inclusive program of Christian enlistment for world order in their local Churches. Thirdly, as represented in a specific society, they have planned their association or circle meetings to study this theme.

Readers are asked to report to SOCIAL PROGRESS programs carried out in their own Churches or elsewhere.)

Fraternal Delegate to Synod. When Rev. John P. McConnell visited the Synod of Canadian (Negro) last fall as a fraternal delegate from the Synod of Arkansas he extended an invitation to the synod to send a fraternal delegate to the Synod of Arkansas. Dr. M. L. Bethel, Oklahoma City, Moderator of the Synod of Canadian, was chosen and he attended the Synod of Arkansas on June 15.

Dr. Bethel addressed both the synod and the synodical and made a fine contribution to their programs. He discussed the contribution of the American Negro to the life of the nation and first steps in bettering race relations. His gracious spirit and kindly manner won an enthusiastic response.

The Committee on Social Education and Action recommended that such an exchange be put on a permanent basis with the synod paying the expense of the delegates, and this recommendation was adopted unanimously.

Films and Drama for the Church

Films—16 mm. sound.

Japanese Relocation. 1 reel, 50 cents service charge (2). An O. W. I. film on Government program of resettlement.

Democracy in Action. 1 reel, 50 cents service charge (2). How farmers produce foods needed by America and the world.

One Tenth of Our Nation. 3 reels, $4.50 a day (2). Strong plea for fair play for the Negro in American life.

The World We Want to Live In. 1 reel, $1.50 a day (2). An appeal against racial and religious intolerance.

Mother and Child. 1 reel, $1.50 a day (2). Child-care services in wartime.

Dramatic Services

A Crowd of Witnesses. Mimeographed. 10 cents a copy; 12 copies for $1.00 (3). A service of vision and dedication for peace and world order.

The Meaning of the Flag. Mimeographed. 10 cents a copy; 12 copies for $1.00 (3). A dramatic interpretation.

Send Out Thy Light. A chancel drama. Walter H. Baker Company, Boston. 35 cents. Symbolizes the Church as leader in the coming days.

Radio Scripts

Conversations on Christian World Order. Five round-table scripts. 10 cents (1). For use over local stations or by groups as round-table presentations.

Anti-Semitism. University of Chicago Round Table Transcripts. 10 cents (2). A problem—an attempt to undermine American unity?

---

(1) Order from Presbyterian Book Store, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

(2) Order from New Tools for Learning, 7 West 16th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Ask for catalogue.

(3) Order from Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Program for Plenty

(Continued from page 15)

war production. To begin with, prior to the war our production facilities for the satisfaction of our normal civilian needs were already very considerable. We do not need to pioneer new fields of production. We need only to expand and amplify.

As a matter of sober fact, even under the grave stresses of war production our nation's financial outlook is not too discouraging. Our debt may run to $180,000,000,000 by the end of 1943—with our national income already estimated at $135,000,000,000. Many a successful corporation has outstanding funded debt amounting to several times its annual income. The Federal Government's situation is neither unusual nor alarming.

Taxes netted the Federal Government around $20,000,000,000 for 1942—sufficient, after allowing $5,000,000,000 to $6,000,000,000 for ordinary Governmental expenditures, to have retired considerably more than $200,000,000,000 of debt on a safe and sane amortization basis. And tax rates enacted in 1943, although high, are after all not crushing.

Far from being broke, our nation under all-out wartime production has built up an enormous earning power. The amount of Government debt outstanding, huge as it is, is owed not to some vaguely sinister centralized agency in Washington, but to you and me and others like us, or to our banks, our insurance companies, and other financial institutions in which we all have an interest. It is almost wholly a domestic debt, which represents the savings of our people. These savings can continue to be siphoned off through our Government to finance our economic productivity, either for war or peacetime needs. Such financing is safest for the lenders and cheapest of all for the debtors.

Nothing to Intimidate Us

In short, there is nothing in our financial outlook to intimidate us in going ahead with our legitimate national aims. We have every right and every reason to begin now to define our economic goals for proper, comfortable, peacetime living and to plan now for peacetime plenty after victory is won.

There are those, of course, who will regard any attempt at postwar economic planning as a handicap to our system of free private enterprise. But such planning need be neither restrictive nor obstructive. In spite of occasional frictions, various signs indicate that American government, business, industry, and agriculture are all progressing in economic understanding, and progressing rapidly.

A paradox that will furnish texts for untold future generations of economists and historians is the fact that the most destructive disaster of all time—a global war—short-circuited us into an all-out productivity at whose approaches we had been stumbling for a dozen years.

Organization overnight for all-out war effort necessarily resulted in a certain amount of bungling, which, in the accomplishment of remarkable objectives, may be forgiven. Organization and planning begun now for postwar production can avoid mistakes of haste and amateurism. Two essentials are required:

1. An immediate comprehensive survey (by income groups) to define postwar consumer demands, abnormal and normal, based on present high national income.

2. Continuation in peacetime of a production planning board to collate performance and assist in any necessary Government aid to producers.

Unless the lessons furnished by our nation's history are in error, we will succeed in whatever we set out to accomplish. It is for us to awaken to our opportunity and to attain permanent self-regenerative prosperity in a properly planned and organized postwar production for plenty.

About Books

The Legacy of Nazism, by Frank Munk. Macmillan. $2.50.

The author describes this book as "an exploratory foray . . . on the whole problem of totalitarian economy and its aftermath. . . . Nazism and its evil fruit will ultimately perish," he says, "but the forces and counterforces they have generated will persist for a long time. . . . Not only democracy but our entire civilization must, to use the words of William Allen White, go down to the tomb and arise."

Mr. Munk is well equipped to make such a study as this. He is a native of Czechoslovakia who, as a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation, lived and did research work in the United States in 1931-1933. Having returned to Europe, he escaped from Prague after the German invasion in 1939 and is now on the staff of the University of California.

Mr. Munk analyzes effectively the present situation as it reflects the economic, social, and political consequences of totalitarianism in Europe and forecasts the staggering problems that will confront Europe and the United Nations when victory comes. The task, he declares, will be one not of reconstruction but the building of an entirely new structure—"a new social and economic order," as President Benes puts it.

The latter chapters of the book deal with the difficult problems of postwar planning and a new economic leadership. "We need a 20-year plan of moral, economic, and political construction rather than reconstruction of the past," he declares. The final paragraph graphically and with deep insight describes shattered Europe. "A world is adrift. One of its crucial areas—Europe—has completely lost its moorings. . . . A new civilization is being born in blood and unspeakable suffering. Ultimate and eternal values alone will survive the carnage. 'He giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.'" E.G.R.

The Tragedy of European Labor, 1918-1939, by Adolph Sturmthal. Columbia University Press. $3.50.

What part did the labor movement play in Europe between the two World Wars? What judgment may be made as to that part? Even for those who seek to be conversant with the labor situation in this country this is pretty much of a closed field.

The author is, therefore, treating a subject that is both new and important. For obvious reasons he does not tell of labor in Soviet Russia; he touches on British labor. Most especially, it is labor on the Continent of which he writes—Fascism in Italy, the Popular Front in France, the rise and fall of the German Republic, and labor in Austria, Spain, and Sweden. In the pages of this book there pass before the reader the leaders of trade-unions and of labor political parties of the two decades of interwar Europe.

Either on the basis of documents or of his reading of history, the author writes the "between wars" history of European labor in the light of a definite theory, which he clearly states at the beginning of his book. He holds that back in 1903 European labor chose a policy of trade-union reformism through becoming a political pressure group, as against the alternative of seeking to reconstruct society in a fundamental way—politically, socially, and economically. Because of this opportunistic rather than reconstructive policy, the writer declares, European labor rendered itself helpless to serve European democracy. It is against this analysis that Dr. Sturmthal has written a book that is history written, if not to prove a point, at least highly illuminating of this theory. C.P.H.

Peace Plans and American Choices, by Arthur C. Millspaugh. Brookings Institution. $1.00.

Daily new plans and modifications of those already proposed are laid before the American people through news, radio, and other publicity channels. The subtitle of this little book, "The Pros and Cons of World Order," suggests its purpose. Dr. Millspaugh, without divulging his own opinions or conclusions, describes a dozen typical peace plans, and gives the arguments for and against each plan.

The time is fast approaching when these questions will demand immediate consideration and action. The coming election will test our knowledge and judgment upon them as citizens. For those who wish to be informed and intelligent, this brief and clearly written book will be a helpful guide in forming their own conclusions. E.G.R.

The Farm, by Louis Bromfield. Grosset & Dunlap. 50 cents.

This is a reissue of a book that appeared about ten years ago. But it is worth a reprint, being an important study, told in semiautobiographical form, of American agricultural background.

Bromfield's general thesis is that "the farm" and its way of life are "gone with the wind," that "the farm" and much of the noble idealism of those who founded it at the turn of the eighteenth century are no more. Besides sheer love of the soil and the dream of a free life, Bromfield lists integrity and idealism—particularly Jeffersonian idealism—as the two bright stars that have certainly grown dim, if they are not entirely lost from our sky. A very evident nostalgia for past scenes prevents the author from appraising the present scene at its true worth and evokes bitter criticism of it. But when we look at our commercialized present with its emphasis upon things, we must agree with the author that our idealism has suffered and that the value of integrity is none too high.

The author develops his thesis through character sketches of his ancestors and with entirely captivating yarns about their adventures with continuity of narrative that makes his book read like a novel.

As commentary, it is worthy of note that Mr. Bromfield, after much wandering over the earth, has himself returned to the farm and is now farming in the same state of Ohio where his forefathers pioneered. He is contributing articles on farm life to various magazines, condensations of at least two of them having appeared in recent issues of *The Reader's Digest.* Those interested in American rural life should keep an eye on this author. WARE W. WIMBERLY.

The New Order in the Church, by William Adams Brown. Abingdon-Cokesbury. $1.50.

This is a book with a purpose stated clearly in the first paragraphs of its first chapter. Dr. Brown freely admits the tremendous problems of the postwar world and the great responsibility that rests upon the Church to make "its own distinctive contribution to postwar reconstruction." He yields to no one, he declares, in recognition of the magnitude and importance of that task. But he is equally convinced that economic and administrative changes are needed in the Church and that no contribution that the Church can make to the political, social, or economic construction of a new world order can be effective unless the Church can demonstrate that a new order in its own life is possible and practicable.

No leader in the Church is better qualified than is Dr. Brown, with his wide contacts with the Church throughout the world, to attack this difficult problem of the changes that must take place in the Churches if they are "to meet the new obligations which the war has laid upon them."

Dr. Brown analyzes four primary needs of the postwar world that constitute the inescapable tasks that the Church must undertake at any cost and under any necessary conditions for their fulfillment. First: The need of the world for renewed fellowship, and the task of the Church to provide a fellowship where the type of life to which the Gospel points is shown to be practicable. Second: The world's need of a unifying faith. The Church must give a clear witness to those who are not yet Christians to the central spiritual fact that constitutes the Church's distinctive Gospel. Third: The world's need of economic sharing. The Church must meet the present economic needs of the less-favored groups in Church and State by corporate sharing. Fourth: The need of world-wide understanding. The Church must find a needed point of contact between those who compose this fellowship, bear this witness, and render this service, and those to whom the Church's message still speaks an unknown tongue.

Dr. Brown's discussion of the task of the Church is in no sense academic. He calls attention specifically to the obstacles that lie in the way of the accomplishment of these tasks of the Church and the ways in which these obstacles may be overcome. To those who look forward to a new order in the Church, this book will be a stimulus to deeper study and action. E.G.R.

New World A-Coming, by Roi Ottley. Houghton Mifflin. $3.00.

Among the increasing number of books about Negroes by men of their own race, this book occupies an important place.

Born in New York, Roi Ottley was educated in the public schools and spent three years at the University of Michigan and two years in the study of law. With this preparation Mr. Ottley joined the staff of the New York *Amsterdam Star News* and for seven years covered Harlem as reporter, editor, and columnist.

New World A-Coming is the product of those years. Its locale is that incredible city within the city of New York with its extremes of wealth and wretched poverty, of education and ignorance, of penthouse apartments and ghastly slums. Harlem "the nerve center of black America."

Roi Ottley sketches the scene boldly. "Life in Harlem is bizarre, but always pointed, intense, vivid. The inhabitants eat, sleep, work and play, bear children, and die. But these characteristics, human and prosaic as they may be, are scorched beyond normal recognition in the crucible of a segregated life. . . . Unbounded optimism has given way to a surging, compelling movement, set into motion by the war and daily gaining momentum, demanding a place in the sun."

Before the reader pass the leaders of black America and the thousands of unnamed Negro men and women whose lives are lived in Harlem and the other Negro centers of America.

"Race, indeed, is the most compelling force in Negro life today," says Roi Ottley. "Negroes may quarrel among themselves about minor issues, but on the question of their rights—moral, economic, and political—which to them mean the right to integration in American life, they form a solid bloc, each member of it being fiercely group-conscious."

This is a vivid story of the yearning and struggle for freedom, for democracy, for a place in society and a fair share of life's goods. Roi Ottley has shown himself a good reporter in his choice of material, an artist in his skill of characterization, and a wise advocate for his people in his objective analysis of their problems and his interpretation of their thoughts, feelings, and reactions to life in "white America." "The Negro's cause," he concludes, "will rise or fall with America. This war, undeniably, belongs to the Negro as well as to the white man. . . . A new world is a-coming with the sweep and fury of the Resurrection." E.G.R.

Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

Action in the North Atlantic—with Humphrey Bogart, Raymond Massey. (Warner Bros.) This picture pays tribute to the Merchant Marine, and the long perilious passage through the northern seas to get vital supplies to Russia is shown for what it actually is—another battle front. The film has much of the same convincing force that has been perfected in some of the documentary films of the war. The acting of the star, who seems not to play a part but to live it, makes the film persuasively real. **Family.**

The Adventures of Tartu—with Robert Donat, Valerie Hobson. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) A British secret agent, disguised as a member of the Rumanian Iron Guard, is sent to Czechoslovakia to destroy a plant where the Nazis are making poison gas, and with the help of the Czech underground brings his mission to a successful conclusion. In spite of a long beginning, a creaky romance, and melodramatic impossibilities, the film's high adventure is tense and exciting. The film is most capably produced, and the cast is well chosen. **Family.**

Sahara—with Humphrey Bogart. (Columbia.) After the fall of Tobruk survivors of an American tank crew pick up other stragglers of the Allied Forces, together with an Italian and a Nazi. Crossing the desert to rejoin their command they meet an advance part of a Nazi mechanized battalion at a well. Against overwhelming odds they put up a delaying fight to gain a little more time for the re-forming of the Allied lines. This is a stirring picture of desert warfare, of men united by terrible hardship and danger and by a curious devotion to their tank, *Lulubelle*. The film has fine dramatic moments and scenes of breath-taking beauty. **Family.**

Sherlock Holmes Faces Death—with Basil Rathbone, Nigel Bruce. (Universal.) A mystery film of the popular series, based on stories by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. The owners of Musgrave Manor as part of the war effort share their lordly home with officers recuperating from combat fatigue. Strange things begin to happen, and Dr. Watson, in charge of the convalescents, calls in Holmes. The three-murder mystery takes the master through a maze of eery clues that go back to the time of Henry V. But, as always, Holmes and Watson find the solution. The film has the nice production touches usual in this series. **Family.**

Wintertime—with Sonja Henie, Jack Oakie. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) The scene of this latest vehicle for the star's skill is laid in an unnamed part of Canada. The pleasant comedy is in no way unusual, but the music, the songs, the fine camera work, and, above all, the fascinating skating make this an entertaining film. **Family.**

Prelude to War. Made by the Special Services Division, U.S. Army. Issued by the Department of War. This is the first of a series of seven films that the War Department is making, designed to show the causes of the war and the reasons we are fighting it. The present picture shows world events up to Germany's first territorial aggression and lays a groundwork for understanding the world conflict that followed. Many of the shots are culled from newsreels and foreign films and give a vivid sense of history in the making. Germany, Italy, Japan, and our own country of the period are all shown. The arrangement and editing are intelligently done, and the commentary is instructive, if not always satisfying. The general effect, however, is one of high drama, though some may feel that there is an oversimplification of facts and that the film fails to stress economic factors sufficiently. **Family.**

Salute to the Marines—with Wallace Beery, Fay Bainter. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) To please his pacifist wife, a tough old sergeant of the Marines in the Philippines retires, but comes into his own again heading an important delaying action with a handful of natives he has trained, when the Japanese make their surprise attack on December 7. Though inclined to be obvious and sentimental, this technicolor picture has plenty of humor in its training scenes. The fight at the close is a salute to the Filipinos as well as to the Marines. **Family.**

The Sky's the Limit—with Fred Astaire, Joan Leslie. (R.K.O. Radio.) To escape the celebration being staged for him as a Flying Tiger hero, Fred Astaire hides his identity during a ten-day furlough, which causes complications when he suddenly falls in love. The film is overlong, and a word or two would clear most of it up, but it is enjoyable with good dancing and smooth comedy—full of pleasant people saying amusing things. **Family.**

Study and Action

November World Order Emphasis

Christian Enlistment for World Order—1943-1944. A program of promotion. *Free.*

The Christian Church and World Order—Study II: Nations United for Peace. A packet discussion guide based on *Six Pillars of Peace*, a Statement of Political Propositions for World Organization, contains also discussion suggestions and other pamphlet source material for leader and group use. *35 cents.*

Conversations About Christian World Order. Five radio scripts for use on local radio stations or as program material. *10 cents.*

Thine Is the Kingdom. A service for Church and group worship. *2 cents each; $1.00 a hundred.*

Prayer and Service—for Christian World Order: My Covenant. For individual use. *Free.*

The Christian Family and World Order. Suggestions and materials for family discussions. *5 cents.*

A Crowd of Witnesses and ***The Message of the Flag.*** Dramatic services for Church use. Mimeographed. *10 cents each; 12 copies for $1.00.* Order from Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, 1943, as adopted by the General Assembly. *Free.*

The World Mission of the Church. Programs for Women's Organizations in Presbyterian Churches. *10 cents.*

Order from any Presbyterian Book Store except as otherwise indicated.

Christian Education for World Order. Special October issue, *International Journal of Religious Education.* Contains: ***What Price Peace?***—four weeks' lesson course for young people and adults; ***God's Free World***—worship service; ***The Cost of Peace***—a series of four articles and other material. *15 cents.*

Toward a Christian Social Order. A leaflet. One of a series, "Projects in Spiritual Mobilization." Four projects dealing with the immediate aspects of problems of postwar reconciliation and reconstruction. *2 cents each; series of six leaflets, 10 cents.*

Order from the International Council of Religious Education, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

The Price of an Enduring Peace. World Community Day program for women's groups. The United Council of Church Women, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

World Government Day Kit. Program outline and complete materials for Armistice Day observance, November 11. National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York. *45 cents.*

BURMA DIARY

By Paul Geren

A heart-stirring account of a young American missionary-teacher's experiences during the Japanese attack on Burma. More the diary of the spirit than of actual events, it is tremendously moving in its passionate sincerity and mature understanding of the nature of man and evil, perceived in the midst of intense suffering
Illustrated by Baldridge. **$1.00**

THE SURVIVAL OF WESTERN CULTURE

By Ralph Tyler Flewelling

"An authentic and inspiring expression of the American philosophy of history."—*Current Thought.* "A real contribution to the war effort."—*New York Times.* "Required reading of the highest order."—*Christian Advocate.* "Will help save us from either the chaos of complete skepticism or the smug slavery of absolutism."—*Los Angeles Times.* **$3.00**

A PORTRAIT OF JESUS

By Sherwood Eddy

"Because of its popular and persuasive presentation of what Jesus was and did, in terms of what He means to the twentieth century," this book is a selection of the Religious Book Club. "Dr. Eddy has so thoroughly sifted the findings of the scholars," continues the *Religious Book Club Bulletin*, "that he is able to present a valid and competent portrait of Jesus . . . ." **$2.00**

LIVE, LOVE AND LEARN

By Joseph Fort Newton

The best inspirational essays on life now appearing in American newspapers are those by this popular author. Here is his new collection of his best of the past two years—200 in all. Practical, helpful, based on true-life situations, they make a grand gift book for all occasions. "His little essays have a broad—as well as brisk—pertinence. No facile withdrawal, no easy optimism . . . but vigorous thoughts, many of them written in answer to specific questions."—*New York Times Book Review.*
$2.00

HARPER & BROTHERS, Publishers
49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.